



**Course: REGIONAL COMPARATIVE STUDIES:  
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA – STATE AND POLITICS  
(Thursdays, 12.00)**

Lecturer: Dr. Višeslav Raos, Associate Professor ([viseslav.raos@fpzg.hr](mailto:viseslav.raos@fpzg.hr))

Academic year: 2022/2023, Summer Semester

Student hours: (after prior appointment)

The aim of this course is to acquaint students with issues of the state and politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina as the only state in Southeast Europe, which since the end of the war and the conclusion of the peace agreements in Dayton and Paris in 1995 is still under some kind of international protectorate. This fact alone suggests that it is a fragile state that has not solved the fundamental problem of statehood. The main cause of such a situation is the nature of Bosnian-Herzegovinian society. It is a typical divided society, that is, a society intersected by overlapping ethnic and religious divisions that have created three relatively closed cultural, social and political segments: Bosniak, Serb, and Croat. The division between these segments was further deepened by the internationalized ethnic civil war (1992-1995), during which a sweeping ethnic territorialization took place that was not typical of Bosnia and Herzegovina before the war. Historical evidence shows that countries with divided societies face two choices: violent state disintegration, or the establishment of consociational patterns of political arrangements through which existing divisions can be deradicalized, mitigated, or even overcome. Some political institutions, institutes and rules of political activity, which are typical for consociational democracies, are built into the Dayton political system. This course will help students identify different models of management of deeply divided, plural societies, through the example of Bosnia and Herzegovina and offer them analytical tools needed to understand similar cases elsewhere.

### STUDY RULES

1. Students are expected to read the suggested articles prior to each tutorial session. Students are expected to **give a presentation (20 minutes) on one of the suggested topics**. When **preparing their presentation, students should include at least one additional source (article, book chapter, etc.), besides the three suggested articles for that topic**. A presentation implies that students will provide own, critical views of the matter covered in the readings. Thus, please refrain from turning your presentations into mere summaries. For each session (excluding the first two, introductory sessions), there will one presentation topic, with three suggested articles.

You can access journal databases, such as *ScienceDirect*, *SageJournals*, and *Taylor&Francis*, through the Croatian National and University Library's proxy: <http://baze.nsk.hr/proxy/>. Click on the "Proxy" rubric and login with your *aaEdu* credentials provided to you by the Faculty's International Students office. Then you will see a list of journal databases where you can browse and download PDFs of scholarly articles. Suggested journals in the *SageJournals* database: *East European Politics and Societies*, *Ethnicities*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* and *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*. Suggested journals in the *Taylor&Francis* database: *East*



*European Politics, Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, Nationalities Papers and Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies.*

**Presentations and position papers should be uploaded** to the respective folder on the MS Teams platform **Mondays until 17.00** (preceding the respective tutorial session). The quality of the presentation makes up **20% of the final grade**.

2. Students are expected to **write two position papers** (each 800-1200 words, not counting the bibliography) on one of the suggested topics. The topics of the position papers cannot be the same as the topic covered by the presentation. The grade for the semester paper amounts to **40% of the final grade (20% each)**.

3. A necessary condition for passing the course is **the passing of the oral exam**. The exam covers selected chapters (1-5) from the book Banović, Damir; Gavrić, Saša, and Barreiro Mariño, Mariña (2021) *The Political System of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Institutions – Actors – Processes*. Cham: Springer.

**1<sup>st</sup> Exam Attempt:** May 25, 12.00

**2<sup>nd</sup> Exam Attempt:** June 8, 12.00

#### **Suggested additional readings**

Bieber, F. (2006) *Post-War Bosnia Ethnicity, Inequality and Public Sector Governance*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bogaards, M. (2014) *Democracy and Social Peace in Divided Societies: Exploring Consociational Parties*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bose, S. (2007) *Contested Lands: Israel–Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Merdžanović, A. (2015) *Democracy by Decree: Prospects and Limits of Imposed Consociational Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Stuttgart: Ibidem Verlag (chapters 4-10).

Keil, S. & McCulloch, A. (2021) *Power-Sharing in Europe: Past Practice, Present Cases, and Future Directions*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kelly, B. B. (2019) *Power-Sharing and Consociational Theory*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

**4. The final grade for the course will be calculated according to the following formula:**

**(grade from point 1 x 0.2) + (grade from point 2 x 0.4) + (grade from point 3 x 0.4)**

5. All the information about the course, reading materials and announcements will be posted via MS Teams, listed under *Regional Comparative Studies: Bosnia and Herzegovina*.



## STYLE GUIDE FOR POSITION PAPERS

### FORMATTING

Please use the Times New Roman font, size 12, 1.5 spacing, justified (bloc text). Mark your paragraphs either by 0.5 cm indents or by formatting your paragraphs so that they include 10 pt spacing at paragraph ends. Use either single or double quotation marks but be consistent in their use.

### LANGUAGE

Please use appropriate academic language, without jargon. When using foreign expressions, write them out in italics, with English translations in brackets. Use either US or UK spelling, but do not combine them. Run a spell checker before turning in your paper.

### REFERENCING

Please use APA style for referencing and quoting (in-text citations and references, i.e., textnotes), while reserving footnotes for additional explanations and comments only. Include all referenced sources in your bibliography. Be careful when quoting and referencing, as to avoid plagiarism and misquotations. **Any possibility of plagiarism is taken seriously. Written assignments will be checked with appropriate anti-plagiarism software.**

### CITATION STYLE EXAMPLES

Becker, Howard S. (2007) *Writing for social scientists: how to start and finish your thesis, book, or article*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Eurostat (2020) Labour productivity per person employed and hour worked. *Eurostat*. <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-datasets/-/tesem160> Accessed: February 8, 2020.

Lefkofridi, Zoe and Katsanidou, Alexia (2018) A Step Closer to a Transnational Party System? Competition and Coherence in the 2009 and 2014 European Parliament. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 56 (6): 1462-1482.

Lister, Jonathan (2020) What is Productivity of Labor? *Chron.com*. <https://smallbusiness.chron.com/productivity-labor-17636.html> Accessed: February 8, 2020.

Thomas, Henry K. (2004) *Training strategies for improving listeners' comprehension of foreign-accented speech* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Colorado: Boulder, CO.

Winne, Philip H. (2001) Self-regulated learning viewed from models of information processing. In: Zimmerman, Barry J. and Schunk, Dale H. (Eds.) *Self-regulated learning and academic achievement* (pp. 160-192). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

**For more examples and guidelines on text formatting, citation, and referencing, please read: *Guidelines for Writing Academic Papers at the Faculty of Political Science*.**

## COURSE OUTLINE

Session	Date	Topic	Content
1	March 9	<i>Course introduction</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Course requirements</li> <li>❖ Why study Bosnia and Herzegovina?</li> </ul>
2	March 16	<i>Bosnia and Herzegovina before the 1992-1995 war</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Brief overview of Bosnian-Herzegovinian history</li> <li>❖ Ethnicity, religion, and culture</li> <li>❖ Empires and nationalism</li> <li>❖ Pre-war consociational mechanisms</li> <li>❖ Democratic transition and the prelude to war</li> </ul>
3	March 23	<i>1992-1995 war and the Dayton peace agreement</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Nature of the war</li> <li>❖ Structural characteristics</li> <li>❖ Dayton peace agreement</li> </ul>
4	March 30	<i>Institutional design in divided societies</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Consociational democracy (Lijphart)</li> <li>❖ Power sharing in Europe</li> <li>❖ Centripetal model (Horowitz)</li> </ul>
5	April 6	<i>Divided society in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Development of cleavages</li> <li>❖ Societal polarization</li> <li>❖ Ways of overcoming polarization</li> </ul>
6	April 13	<i>Political system 1: Parties and elections</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Electoral system</li> <li>❖ Ethnonationalist and non-nationalist parties</li> </ul>
7	April 20	<i>Political system 2: Parliament, government, and the presidency</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Ethnic bicameralism</li> <li>❖ Power-sharing and the national government</li> <li>❖ The tripartite presidency</li> </ul>
8	April 27	<i>Political system 3: The territorial makeup</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Federal entities</li> <li>❖ Cantons</li> <li>❖ Brčko district</li> </ul>
9	May 4	<i>Political system 4: The Office of the High Representative</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ The international community and Bosnia and Herzegovina</li> <li>❖ Bonn powers</li> <li>❖ Court cases and reform attempts</li> </ul>
10	May 11	<i>Ethnopolitics in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Different visions of the state and society and Bosnia and Herzegovina</li> <li>❖ The Bosniak position</li> <li>❖ The Serb position</li> <li>❖ The Croat position</li> </ul>

## TOPICS FOR PRESENTATIONS AND POSITION PAPERS

Session	Date	Topic	Content
3	March 23	<i>War and crimes</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lieberman, Ben (2006) Nationalist narratives, violence between neighbours and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina: a case of cognitive dissonance? <i>Journal of Genocide Research</i> 8 (3): 295-309.</li> <li>Nielsen, Christian Axboe (2013) Surmounting the myopic focus on genocide: the case of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. <i>Journal of Genocide Research</i> 15 (1): 21-39.</li> <li>Subotić, Jelena (2022) Holocaust and the Meaning of the Srebrenica Genocide: A Reflection on Controversy. <i>Journal of Genocide Research</i> 24 (1): 71-82.</li> </ol>
4	March 30	<i>Consociational and centripetal democracy in Bosnia and beyond</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bogaards, Matthijs (2019) Consociationalism and Centripetalism: Friends or Foes? <i>Swiss Political Science Review</i> 25 (4): 519-537.</li> <li>Kasapović, Mirjana (2016) Lijphart and Horowitz in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Institutional Design for Conflict Resolution or Conflict Reproduction? <i>Croatian Political Science Review</i> 53 (4): 174-190.</li> <li>McCulloch, Allison (2014) Consociational settlements in deeply divided societies: the liberal-corporate distinction. <i>Democratization</i> 21 (3): 501-518.</li> </ol>
5	April 6	<i>Divided society in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hromadžić, Azra (2013) Discourses of trans-ethnic narod in postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina. <i>Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity</i> 41 (2): 259-275.</li> <li>Moll, Nicolas (2013) Fragmented memories in a fragmented country: memory competition and political identity-building in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina. <i>Nationalities Papers</i> 41(6): 910-935.</li> <li>Pearson, Sevan (2015) The “national key” in Bosnia and Herzegovina: a historical perspective. <i>Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity</i> 43 (2): 213-232.</li> </ol>
6	April 13	<i>Parties and elections</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Manning, Carrie (2004) Elections and political change in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. <i>Democratization</i> 11 (2): 60-86.</li> <li>Hulsey, John &amp; Keil, Soeren (2019) Ideology and Party System Change in Consociational Systems: The Case of Non-Nationalist Parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina. <i>Nationalism and Ethnic Politics</i> 25 (4): 400-419.</li> <li>Mujkić, Asim &amp; Hulsey, John (2010) Explaining the Success of Nationalist Parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina. <i>Croatian Political Science Review</i> 47 (2): 143-158.</li> </ol>
7	April 20	<i>Parliamentary Assembly and the Presidency</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bochsler, Daniel (2012) Non-discriminatory Rules and Ethnic Representation: The Election of the Bosnian State Presidency. <i>Ethnopolitics</i> 11 (1): 66-84.</li> <li>Mraović, Boriša (2014) Ethnic mobilization and the impact of proportional and majoritarian electoral rules on voting behaviour: the 1990 elections to two chambers of parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina. <i>Southeast European and Black Sea Studies</i> 14 (4): 585-606.</li> <li>McCulloch, Allison &amp; Zdeb, Aleksandra (2020) Veto Rights and Vital Interests: Formal and Informal Veto Rules for Minority Representation in Deeply Divided Societies. <i>Representation</i>, DOI: 10.1080/00344893.2020.1778065</li> </ol>

8	April 27	<i>Space and identity: Divided cities, return and cooperation</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Armakolas, Ioannis (2011) The ‘Paradox’ of Tuzla City: Explaining Non-Nationalist Local Politics during the Bosnian War. <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 63 (2): 229-261.</li> <li>2. Bollens, Scott (2013) Bounding cities as a means of managing conflict: Sarajevo, Beirut and Jerusalem. <i>Peacebuilding</i> 1 (2): 186-206.</li> <li>3. Laketa, Sunčana (2019) The politics of landscape as ways of life in the ‘divided’ city: reflections from Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina. <i>Space and Polity</i> 23 (2) 168-181.</li> </ol>
9	May 4	<i>International protectorate and the constitutional framework</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Bochsler, Daniel; Merdžanović, Adis &amp; Petrić, Davor (2020) Turning International Intervention into Domestic Cooperation in Post-War Societies. <i>International Peacekeeping</i> 27 (1): 124-151.</li> <li>2. Gilbert, Andrew (2017) The Limits of Foreign Authority: Publicity and the Political Logic of Ambivalence in Postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina <i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i> 59 (2): 415-445.</li> <li>3. McCrudden, Christopher &amp; O’Leary, Brendan (2013) Courts and Consociations, or How Human Rights Courts May Destabilize Power-sharing Settlements. <i>The European Journal of International Law</i> 24 (2): 477-501.</li> </ol>
10	May 11	<i>Ethnopolitics in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Kostovicova, Denisa (2004) Republika Srpska and its Boundaries in Bosnian Serb Geographical Narratives in the Post-Dayton Period. <i>Space and Polity</i> 8 (3): 267-287.</li> <li>2. Larise, Dunja (2015) The Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina and nation building by Muslims/Bosniaks in the Western Balkans. <i>Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity</i> 43 (2): 195-212.</li> <li>3. Zdeb, Aleksandra (2016) The Need to Have Something ‘of Their Own’: Croat Parallel Institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. <i>Swiss Political Science Review</i> 22 (4): 545-564.</li> </ol>